The land has changed: history, society and gender in colonial Eastern Nigeria

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History, Society and Gender in Colonial Eastern Nigeria
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NOTES

FOREWORD


6 Ibid., 192.

7 Korieh, “Introduction,” 2.

8 Ibid., 13.

INTRODUCTION: PERSPECTIVES, SETTING, SOURCES

1 Interview with Grace Chidomere, Umuchieze, Mbane, 13 December 1998.

2 Interview with Chief Francis Enweremadu, Mbutu, Mbane, 2 January 2000.

3 Interview with Comfort Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbane, 13 December 1998.

4 National Archive of Nigeria, Enugu (NAE), ABADIST, 14/1/873, “A. Jamola, to the District Officer, Aba,” 21 July 1943.


7 Igbo culture and ecological areas can be broadly categorized as follows: Western or Delta Igbo (Asaba, Ika, Ndokwa); Northwestern (north and south Niger flood plain: Onitsha, Idemili, Aguata, Nri, Awka [Anambra]; Northern [Awgu, Enugu, Nsukka, Abakaliki: Enugu State and part of Ebonyi State]; Central [Orlu, Owerri, Nkwere, Ideato, and Mbano, Mbane, Etiti, Okigwe: Imo State]; Southwest [Ohaji, Egberi, Oguta, Ndoni, and Ikwerre: part of Imo and Rivers States]; South [Ngwa, Asa, Etche, Ukwa: Abia State]; and Eastern [Umuahia-Ikwuano, Bende, Ohafia, Afikpo, Aro: part of Abia and Ebonyi States]). Taken from Ogbu U. Kalu, “Osondu: Patterns of Igbo Quest for Jesus Power,” unpublished paper.

8 In the settler colonies of southern and eastern Africa, where Africans competed with capitalist agriculture, the labour of African men and the subsistence production of African women also helped to subsidize the state, capitalist agriculture, mining, and industry. See, for example, Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

9 However, the pace of agricultural transformation varied widely from the cash crop producing regions of West Africa to southern and eastern African societies, where farmers faced more direct demands...


There is also an argument that the economic reforms driven by the IMF and the World Bank in Africa over the last decades have exacerbated the pace of agricultural and economic decline. For the implications of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) on African agriculture, see S. Commander, ed., SAP and Agriculture: Theory and Practice in Africa and Latin America (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1989). See also Christina H. Gladwin, ed., Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991); and Commonwealth Secretariat, Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s: Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Structural Adjustment (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989).

There appears to be a consensus on the decline in the level of agricultural production, although there is less agreement
on exactly what are the causes and what should be the remedies. Furthermore, critics seeking general explanatory models of the nature of agricultural crisis have reproduced this error. The current ubiquitous use of the word "crisis" in explaining the decline in African agriculture is not without uses, but it needs the addition of specific local details to avoid over-generalization. The general “crisis” thesis has led to distortions in the description of the nature of the agrarian crisis and sustainability because the discourse has not been adequately grounded in the social structures and everyday life of the studied societies. An in-depth understanding of the varied nature of the African agricultural crisis calls for an exploration of regional variations and experiences. For a general review of the literature on the African agricultural crisis, see Sara Berry, "The Food Crisis and Agrarian Change in Africa: A Review Essay," African Studies Review 27, no. 2 (1984): 59.


16 For more on this debate, see Berry, “The Food Crisis,” No Condition Is Permanent, 10–6; Lofchie and Commins, “Food Deficit and Agricultural Policies in Tropical Africa,” 1–25.


24 Ibid.


26 The discussion should (arguably) centre on gender because its relational nature would lead to a critical examination of economic, social, and political processes. This is crucial in examining agricultural change, since men and women are defined in terms of one another in the organization of production. For a clear articulation of this position, see Joan Wallach Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). See also Marnie Hughes-Warrington’s fine articulation of Scott’s ideas on gender in *Fifty Key Thinkers on History* (London: Routledge, 2000), 279–80.


31 See Martin, *Palm Oil and Protest*.


33 For a social history of the civil war, see Axel Harneit-Sievers, Jones O. Ahazuem, and Sydney Emezue, *A Social History of the Nigeria Civil War: Perspectives from The Land Has Changed*
By a “food-reserve-deficit” area, I mean an area without the capacity to produce enough for reserve during one farming season. Parts of Igboland, which were food-reserve-deficit areas, depended largely on food produced in other regions.


For a description of rural poverty among the Igbo by the late nineteenth century, see Iliffe, *The African Poor*, 82–94.


46 Usoro, The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry.


54 For the use of life histories in historical reconstruction and the problems of interpretation and representation, see Geiger, Tanu Women, 16. See also Kathleen Barry, “Biography and the Search for Women’s Subjectivity,” Women’s Studies International Forum 12, no. 6 (1989): 561–77.


“WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FARMERS”: SOCIETY AND ECONOMY AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY


8 Okigbo, Plants and Food. See also Echeruo, “Aro and Nri: Lessons,” 206.


12 Ibid., 126.


14 Cocoyam, known as a woman’s crop, is ritualized as yam and controlled by similar taboos.

15 Interview with Nwanyiafo Obasi, Umuonu, 25 July 1999.

16 See W. B. Morgan, “Farming Practice, Settlement Pattern and Population Density


18 Ibid., 3.


23 According to his autobiography, written in 1789, Olaudah Equiano (c. 1745–1797) was born in Igboland. He was kidnapped and sold into slavery when he was eleven years old. His involvement in the movement to abolish the slave trade led him to write and publish The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African (1789). There is heated debate today over Equiano’s nativity raised by Vincent Carretta in Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man (University of Georgia Press, 2005). For a contrary view see, Chima J. Korieh, ed., “Introduction,” in Olaudah Equiano and the Igbo World: History, Society, and Atlantic Diaspora Connections, 1–20 (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008).

24 Equiano, The Interesting Narrative, 39.

Archibald John Monteith’s memoir was written by Reverend Joseph Horsfield Kummer in 1853. Kummer served the Moravian Mission in Jamaica and this account was edited by Vernon H. Nelson from the manuscript in the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. See “Archibald John Monteith: Native Helper and Assistant in the Jamaica Mission at New Carmel,” Transactions of the Monrovian Historical Society 21, no. 1 (1966): 30. See also Maureen Warner-Lewis, Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian, Jamaican, Moravian (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2007).

26 Extracts from Koler, Einige Notizen über Bonny, in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 14–17. Yam is the common name applied to about 500 species of the genus Dioscorea of the Dioscoreaceae family. Tubers vary in size and shape, averaging 3–8 lb., but sometimes reaching more than 60 lb.


32 Western Equatorial Africa Diocesan Magazine, 1904, 29ff., cited in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 207–8. Cassava is a perennial woody shrub with an edible root, which grows in tropical and subtropical environment.

33 Morgan, “The Influence,” 52.

34 Allison, The Interesting Narrative, 39.

36 Morgan, “The Influence,” 49.


43 David R. Smock and Audrey C. Smock, Cultural and Political Aspects of Rural Transformation: A Case Study of Eastern Nigeria (New York: Praeger, 1972), 21. This high population density is reflected in the 1991 population census. An important demographic characteristic is the high female population ration in the region, which is on the average 10,000 more than the male population in most areas. The demographic composition has gender and development implications including access to resources and contribution to agricultural production. See Federal Office of Statistics “1991 Population of States by Local Government Areas,” Digest of Statistics, December 1994.


46 Ibid.


48 William Allan distinguishes between obligatory and voluntary shifting cultivation. Voluntary shifting cultivation is found where land is plentiful in relation to population. Here populations could move to new areas without the restrictions imposed by the need to allow cultivated land to regenerate. See William Allan, The African Husbandman (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1965), 6–7.

49 See Morgan and Pugh, West Africa, 322.

50 Shifting cultivators could also rate the fertility of a piece of land and its suitability for a particular crop by the vegetation that covers it and by the physical characteristics of the soil. For a discussion of the ecological basis of soil and agricultural systems, see Allan, The African Husbandman, 3–19.
51 Interview with Mbagwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 18 December 1998.


54 It is likely that by the end of the eighteenth century most parts of Igboland and neighbouring areas were so well inhabited that founding new communities became nearly impossible. The development of a more permanent agricultural practice, therefore, became inevitable.


57 Ibid., 35.


53 NAE, OWDIST, 9/15/2, file no. 4/29, “Rural Land Policy,” District Officer, Owerri to Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt, May 1929.

54 NAE, CALPROF, 14/7/1698, file no. E/2994/12 “Land Tenure in the Aba District” District Commissioner, Aba District to the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, October 1912. See also NAE, CALPROF, 14/7/1698, file no. E/2994/12 “Report on Land Tenure” Acting District Commissioner, Orlu to H.P.C Calabar, November, 1912.


56 The importance of age in determining gender and social relations is important in many Nigerian communities. For the case of the Yoruba of southeastern Nigeria, see Oyeronke Oyewumi, “Mothers Not
Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse” (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1993).


68 Davison, “Land, Women and Agricultural Production,” 2. Chubb described land among the Igbo as the fons et erigo (fountain and origin) of human morality, productivity, and fertility and therefore, to that extent, the principal legal sanction. See Chubb, Ibo Land Tenure, 6–7. See also Uchendu, The Igbo, 22.

69 In traditional Igbo society, a variety of factors including initiation into adulthood, age, and marriage determined one's status as an adult, but they also determined when one became economically independent.

70 Interview with Mbagwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaize, 18 December 1998.

71 The Igbo week calendar is made up of eight days. The major market days in the week are Orie, Afo, Nkwo, and Eke with four minor market days on the same nomenclature.

72 The Ofo is the symbol of authority in Igbo society and each lineage head remained the custodian of the Ofo until he died. See Anyanwu, “Igbo Family Life,” 147–48.


75 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 20 December 1998.


77 See Afiebo, Ropes of Sand, 130.

78 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 20 December 1998.


80 William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea (London, 1705), 344.


On African farming systems and division of labour, see Baumann, "The Division of Work," 328.

Allison, The Interesting Narrative, 39.

Basden, Niger Ibos, 93.

Interview with Chief Theophilus Onyema, Umuorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.


Basden, Niger Ibos, 389–90, 394.

The Church Missionary Intelligencer, August 1891, 573, cited in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 256.

Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 and 14 December 1998.


Ibid.

Interview with Agu Elija Ukaeme, Umuomu Mbaise, 3 August 1999.

Interview with Nze James Eboh, Obowo, Etiti, 2 January 2000.


Ibid., 28.

Ibid.


Ibid., 74.


Achebe, Things Fall Apart, 16, 33–34.

NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928.

Onwuejeogwu, “Evolutionary Trends,” 60.


During my field interviews, people talked about the growing of yams as if it were synonymous with farming.

Morgan, "The Influence," 52.

Basden, Niger Ibos, 389.

Cited in Onwu, Uzo Ndu.


Interview with Chief Theophilus Onyema, Umuorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.

Isichei, A History of the Igbo, 10.


Ibid.

Ibid., 651–55. See also Dike and Ekejiuba, The Aro.

Ibid.


Morgan, “The Influence,” 53.

For the link between the slave trade and the local agrarian economy, see, for example, Martin, “Slaves, Igbo Women and Oil Palm.”


Jones, From Slaves, 41.

Calculated from Eltis et al., eds. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.


Ibid., 465.

Jones, From Slaves, 40.


152 Jones, From Slaves, 50.


155 Dike, Trade and Politics, 101.


160 Jones, From Slaves, 53.


162 Ibid., 206–7.


167 Ibid.

168 Ibid.


172 Cited in Mba, Nigeria Women, 48.

173 Raymond Gore Clough, Oil Rivers Trader (London: C. Hurst, 1972), 41–42.

174 Ibid., 41–42.

175 Henderson, The King, 230–43. See also Mba, Nigeria Women, 49.

176 Mba, Nigeria Women, 32.

177 Ibid., 48.

2 PAX BRITANNICA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

1 New York Times, 12 April 1903.
2 Ibid.
4 Report by The Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore (Parliamentary Under-Secretary for State for the Colonies) on his Visit to West Africa during the year 1926 (London: HMO, 1926), 77.
6 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks Papers.
7 London Gazette 5 June 1885, 2581. Cited in J. C. Anene, “The Foundation of British Rule in Nigeria (1885–1891),” Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria 1, no. 4 (1959): 253–62. Named after palm oil, the major export product from the region, the protectorate originally also included territories like Benin and Itsekiri, which later became part of Western Nigeria.
11 Ibid., 33.
13 Ukwu, “The Development of Trade,” 656.
15 Other military expeditions include the Douglas Expedition (ogu Douglas), Ahiaara Expedition, 1905.
16 On Aro commercial activities, see, for example, Adiele Afigbo, “The Eclipse of the Aro Trading Oligarchy of Southeastern


See Ohadike, *The Ekumeku Movement.*


Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 193.

Lugard was also committed to containing the expansion of Islam to non-Muslim groups. Lugard did not want non-Muslim groups to be forcibly placed “under Moslem rule (which in practice means their conversion to the Moslem faith) even though that rule may be more advanced and intelligent than anything they are as yet capable of evolving themselves.” See Muhammad S. Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 34.

at a Dinner of the African Society on 13 March 1928.


37 RH, Mss Afr. s. 2288/2, Alex J. Braham papers.


39 Ibid.

40 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000 (1), Edward Morris Falk papers.

41 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks papers.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.


45 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1881. A.F. B. Bridges papers.


49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Ihitteafoukwu, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.


53 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1924, A.E. Cooks papers.

54 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000 (1), Edward Morris Falk papers.


56 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks papers.


58 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1520, Sylvia Leith-Ross papers.

59 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks papers.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 C.O. 520/26, Egerton to C.O. (Confidential), November 5, 1904.

63 C.O. 520/14, Moor to C.O. No. 183, April 17, 1902.


67 Several attempts were made to introduce the production of cotton in the region. Such attempts were frustrated by a combination of factors, including the lack of interest on the part of farmers, and the unsatisfactory soil conditions in many parts of Igboland.


West Africa, 26 July 1924.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Nigeria, Annual Report on the Agricultural Department, 1932, 29.


F. M. Dyke was struck by the high degree of skill and knowledge shown by the native farmers in the care of their palm. See Report on the Oil Palm Industry in British West Africa, cited in Usoro, The Nigeria Oil Palm Industry, 37.


Ibid., 216–17.


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Ibid.


Usoro, *The Nigeria Oil Palm Industry*.

Interview with Christina Marizu, Nguru, 25 December 1999.

Clough, *Oil Rivers Trader*, 38.

RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000, Edward Morris Falk papers.


RH, Mss Afr. s. 1924, A. E. Cooks papers.

Ibid.

Interview with Eugenia Otuonye, Umuchieze, 23 December 1998.

RH, Mss Afr. s. 1924, A. E. Cooks papers.


CO 583/193/8, ‘Palm Oil Industry.’


RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, Frederick Bernard Carr paper.

Interview with F. Enweremadu, Mbutu Mbaise, 2 January 2000.


Meek, *Land and Authority*, 15–16.

Green, *Ibo Village Affairs*, 43.


Jones, *From Slaves*, 1.


**GENDER AND COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY**


The recognition of difference and diversity is a common trend running through the writings of African feminist scholars. See, for example, Obioma Nnaemeka, ed., *Sisterhood, Feminism and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998). For the work of a culturally sensitive writer, see, for example, Chilla Bulbeck, *Re-orientating Western Feminism: Women’s Diversity in a Postcolonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

See, for example, NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928. The District Officer acknowledged that statistics were not available for women’s crops.


NAE, CALPROF, 14/8/711, file no. 1018/13, The Quarterly Report of the Agricultural Department, 1918. See also Superintendent of Agriculture, Eastern Province, “Report on the Progress of Pupils attached to the Agricultural Department.”


NAE, ONDIST, 12/1/578, “Instruction for Farmers’ Sons.” District officer, Nsukka Division to Resident, Onitsha Province, 3 February 1934.


NAE, ONDIST, 12/1/578, “Instruction for Farmers’ Sons,” B. W. Walter, District officer, Udi Division to Superintendent of Agriculture, Onitsha, 6 February 1934.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

NAE, EKETDIST, 1/2/50, file no. 499, “Cooperative Agricultural Settlements for Nigeria, Registrar of Co-operative Societies to the Chief Secretary to the Government,” Lagos, April 1940.

NAE, EKETDIST, 1/2/50, “Cooperative Agricultural Settlements.”

Interview with Eneremadu, Mbutu, 2 January 2000.

NAE, EKETDIST, 1/2/50, “Cooperative Agricultural Settlements.”


NAE, RIVPROF, 8/5/661, “Cooperative Agricultural Settlements.”

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

RH, Mss Afr. s. 1779, Norman Herington papers.

Ibid.

This was the situation in most of the colonial territories. See, for example, Janice Jiggins, Gender-Related Impacts and the Work of the International Agricultural Centres, CGIAR Study Paper 17 (1986), 1–2.
42 RH, Mss Afr. s. 862 Swaisland H. Eastern Nigeria papers.
43 Ibid.
47 See Eastern Region, Annual Report, Agriculture Division, 1958/59.
48 NAE, ARODIV, 19/1/18, “Quarterly Reports, Aro District,” Agricultural Station Arochukwu to Agricultural Officer, Abak, 19 December 1952.
49 For report from various agricultural divisions, see NAE, LD 51-ESIALA, 27/1/53, “ Matter relating to agricultural loans.”
50 Ibid.
54 Nigeria, Second Annual Bulletin of the Agricultural Department, 1923. See also Gray, “Native Methods of Preparing Palm Oil,” 29.
55 See Lugard, The Dual Mandate, 268–69.
57 Baker, Agricultural Change, 22.
60 See Anyanwu, The Igbo Family Life, 200.
62 Usoro, The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry, 93.
63 Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 332.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., 330.
66 Ibid., 331.
68 Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 75.
69 Martin, Palm Oil and Protest, 1988. See also Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized.
70 See Ukaegbu, “Production,” 233. See also Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 106.
71 NAE, CALPROF 7/1/2339, file no. 4577, “Restlessness among the Annang Women.” District Officer Opobo to The Senior Resident, Calabar Province, 27 February 1952. For the threat on the traditional rights of women with the introduction of new technology, see Margery Perham, ed., Native Economies of Nigeria (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), 229.
72 NAE, CALPROF, 7/1/2339, file no. 4577, “Agenda from Annag Women Association to be discussed with ADO, Opobo, 2 September, 1952,” E. S. James, Assistant District Officer to the District Officer, 10 February 1952.
Interview with Christopher Chidomere, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.


For a useful critique of the broad and generalized framework on understanding the role of gender in economic change, see Margaret P. Stone, “Women, Work and Marriage: A Restudy of the Nigerian Kofyar” (PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, 1988), 16.


Sara Berry, Cocoa, Custom, and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975). Polly Hill’s study of the development of rural capitalism in Ghana may also be noted. These changes in the direction of capitalist societies were largely driven by the market rather than ideology, although they ultimately transformed social structures including gender. See also Polly Hill, The Migrant Cocoa-farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism (Hamburg: LIT, James Currey with the IAI, 1997).


A. M. Iheaturu, interview with Andrew Anyanwu, aged 80, Ogbe Ahiara, 30 August 1972 and 16 December 1972, transcribed in Isichei, Igbọ Worlds, 81.


Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 47.

Ibid.

Interview with Eliazer Ihediwa, Owerrenta, 24 July 1999.

Interview with Linus Anabalam, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.

Interview with Nwanyiago Obasi, Umuonu, Mbaize, 25 July 1999.

Interview with E. Ihediwa, Owerrenta, 24 July 1999.

Interview with Serah Emenike, Owerri, 22 December 1999.

Interview with Francis Eneremadu, 31 December 1999.

Ibid.

Interview with Christiana Marizu, Nguru Mbaise, 25 December 1999.

Women in various parts of the Eastern Region protested men’s participation in what they regarded as women’s spheres and often asked colonial officials to intervene on their behalf.


Hart, The Political Economy, 97–98.


See Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 112–14.

See Eastern Region: Annual Report for the Department of Agriculture for 1953/54.

4 PEASANTS, DEPRESSION, AND RURAL REVOLTS


2 Ibid.


5 Paul Richards, “To Fight or to Farm? Agrarian Dimensions of the Mano River Conflicts (Liberia and Sierra Leone),” African Affairs 104, no. 417 (2005): 571–90.


7 On the emergence of “peasant intellectuals,” to use Feierman’s phrase, see Steven Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 18.


9 NAE, UMPROF, 1/5/2, file no. C.53/929, vol. I, part 2, Resident Owerri to Secretary Southern Provinces, March 1930.

10 Ibid.

11 This was often carried out on a man who abuses his wife or commits other serious offences against the women of a village of the community. See Judith Van Allen, “‘Aba Riots’ or Igbo Women’s War? Ideology, Stratification, and Invisibility of Women,” in The Black Woman Cross-Culturally, ed. F.C. Steady, 60 (Cambridge, MA: Schenkmans, 1981); and “Sitting on a Man: Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of the Igbo,” Canadian Journal of African Studies 6, no. 11 (1972): 178.

12 Commission of Inquiry, 96.

13 Leith-Ross, African Women.


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19 Aba Commission of Inquiry, 19.

20 NAE, AWDIST, 2/1/57, file no. 62/1925, “Anti-Government Propaganda in Abakiliki,” District Officer Awgu to Senior Resident, Onithsa, 12 March 1926. See also NAE, ONPROF, 7/12/92, file no. 391/1925, J. C. Iwenofu to District Officer, Awgu, 3 November 1925.


22 Aba Commission of Inquiry, 19.


28 Commission of Inquiry, 33.

29 Ibid., 54.


that the authorities could not be trusted. See Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized*, 76.

76 The Commission of Inquiry acknowledged this view. See *Commission of Inquiry*, 96.

77 Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 331.

78 NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928.

79 *Commission of Inquiry*, 93.

80 Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized*, 76.

81 *Commission of Inquiry*, 12.

82 Interview with Nwanyiafo Obasi, Umu-nomo, Mbaise, 30 July 1999.

83 *Notes of Evidence*, 13.


85 Ibid.

86 PRO, CO, 583/176, “Native Unrest.”


88 Ibid.


91 See *Commission of Inquiry*, 103.

92 Ibid., Appendix III (1), 32.


94 Ibid.


96 *Notes of Evidence*, 114.

97 NAE, UMUPROF, 1/5/11, file no. C. 53/1929/vol. X, “Assault on Customary heads and Court members during recent disturbances,” the Resident, Owerri Province to the Honourable, the Secretary, Southern Provinces, 12 February 1930.

98 Ibid.

99 *Notes of Evidence*, 98.

100 Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 103.

101 *Notes of Evidence*, 57. The evidence by administrative officers, police officers, missionaries, and others of many years’ experience in the area indicates that local officials were very corrupt. This was not an issue for women alone. Many male witnesses strongly raised the issue of corruption by the native courts and warrant chiefs.


103 RH, Mss Af. s. 1000, Edward Morris Falk Papers.

104 NAE, UMUPROF, 1/5/1, “Women’s Movement, Aba.”


109 Ibid.

110 PRO, CO, 583/176/9 “Native Unrest in Calabar and Owerri Provinces: Correspondence Arising from, 1930.”

111 Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 3.

112 *Notes of Evidence*, 57.


114 *Commission of Inquiry*, 260.

115 PRO, CO, 583/176, “Native Unrest.”


119 See *Report of the Commission of enquiry appointed to inquire into the disturbance in the Calabar and Owerri Provinces, December 1929* (Sessional Paper No. 28), hereafter (*Commission of Inquiry*). See also *Notes of Evidence Taken in the Calabar and Owerri Provinces on the Disturbance 1930*, 8 vols. *Minutes of Evidence Taken at Owerri 1930, Minutes of Evidence Taken at Opobo 1930*.


121 Ibid.


123 Oriji, “Igbo Women.”

124 RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, F.B Carr papers.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.


128 RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, F. B. Carr papers.

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 See NAE, UMUPROF, 1/5/4, file no. C 53/1929/vol. 26, Women Movement, Aba Patrol Report to SSP Part II 1/3/30, Resident Owerri to Secretary, Southern Provinces, 14 November 1930. The residents report were based on confidential memos from reports on the recent unrest in the Orlu District of the Okigwi Division by the District Officer, Mr. Homfray; by the acting Resident, Mr. Cochrane; by the Deputy Superintending Inspector of Produce Mr. Sabiston.

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133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 PRO, CO, 583/193/8, “Palm Oil Industry,” E. Beddington to Governor of Nigeria, 17 May 1933.


137 PRO, CO, 583/242/22, “Disturbance in Okigwi.”


139 Ibid., 99.

140 Ibid., 107.

141 Interview with Chief Francis Eneremadu.


5 THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE RURAL ECONOMY, AND AFRICANS

1 RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, F. B. Carr papers.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 See NAE, OP 122II-ONDIST, 12/1/90, Matters relating to the effects and implications of war conditions on Nigeria. See also *Nigeria, Annual Report of the Agricultural Department*, especially 1939/1940.

5 *Nigeria, Annual Report on the Agricultural Department, 1938*.

6 RH, Afr. s. 546, F. B Carr papers.


10 RH, Afr. s. 546, F. B. Carr papers.


12 NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/907, file no. 1642, “Palm Produce Production,” Chief Secretary to the Government.

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14 Ibid.


16 RH, Afr. s. 546, F. B. Carr papers.


23 Ibid.


26 NAE, CSE, 1/85/8621, file no. 18038/70, vol. II, “Production, Onitsha Province,” Kernels Production Officer to Deputy Controller of Kernels, Eastern Zone, 14 June 1943.

27 Interview with Eleazer Ihediwa Ower-renta, 24 July 1999, aged c. 71.

28 NAE, ONDIST, 12/1/104, file no. OP 130, “Palm oil Production,” Resident Onitsha Province to The Secretary, Eastern Provinces, Enugu, 25 November 1939.

29 Ibid.


31 NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/907, file no. 1642, “Palm Produce Production,” and P. L. Allpress to Resident, Owerri Province, 4 October 1945.


33 See NAE, OBUDIST, 4/1/309, file no. OB 699/vol. II, “Produce Drive: Kernel and Rubber Return Prosecutions.”

34 NAE, OBUDIST, 4/1/309, file no. OB 699/vol. II, “Prosecution under palm kernels and rubber Regulation.” The cases here were from December 1943 to July 1944.


40 NAE, RIVPROF, 8/5/430, “Policy of the Agricultural Department,” Circular Memo D. A. 14/252, J.R. Mackie to the Chief Secretary to the Government, 26 October 1939.


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47 Nigeria, Annual Report of the Agricultural Department, 1942, 2.

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51 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/872 file no. 1647.


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54 NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/958, J.V. Dewhurst to the Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt, 12 August 1943.

55 NAE, AIDIST, 2/1/433, file no. IK: 401/18, "Food Control," The Acting District Officer, Ikom to the District Officer, Abakiliki, 18 June 1945.

56 NAE, AIDIST, 2/1/433, file no. AB: 1373/11, “Memo” to District Officer, Abakiliki Division to C. N. C. Igbeagu, 1945.

57 NAE AIDIST, 2/1/433, file no. OG: 2920/140, “Food Control,” P. M. Riley, Resident Ogoja Province to District Officers.

58 NAE, AIDIST, 2/1/433, “Nigerian General Defence regulation Order: Gari and Yams,” Resident Onitsha Province to District Officer and other Competent Authorities, 16 May 1945.


60 West African Pilot, 23 February 1944.

61 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/875, file no. 1646, vol. IV, "Gari Control," The Nigerian Police, Aba to District Officer, Aba, 13 May 1944.


64 Nigeria, Annual Report of the Agricultural Department Report, 1940, 2.

65 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/875, file no. 1646, vol. IV, Clerk of Omuma Native Court to District Officer Aba Division, 11 November 1944.


The League represented the majority of unions, ethnic groups and communities in Aba Township. See NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/958, file no. 668, “Foodstuffs: Yams, Plantains, Cocoyams, etc, Requested Prohibition of Railment or Exportation of in Future,” Honorary Secretary, Aba Community League to the District Officer, Aba, 2 August 1943.

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97 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/872, file no. 1646, “Gari: Control of,” S.O. Enyiomah and others to District Officer, Aba, 28 June 1943.

98 Ibid.

99 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/872, file no. 1646, “Gari: Control of,” Agnes Garuba to District Officer Aba, 22 July 1943.

100 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/872, file no. 1646, “Gari: Control of,” C. O. Muoma to District Officer, Aba, 11 July 1943.


113 NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/908, file no. 1642/ vol. II, “Secretary, Eastern Province to Resident, Owerri Province,” 17 October 1945.


115 Ibid., 164.


121 Interview with Gilbert Uzor, Umunomo, Mbaize, 22 July 2000.


124 Interview with Anex Ibeh, Umunomo, Mbaize, 17 December 1998.

125 Interview with Michael Iheaguta, umuchieze, Mbaize, 2 August 1998.


127 NAE, C.S.E., 1/85/8584, fine no. 18038/38, vol. VII, Resident, Onitsha Province to The Secretary, Eastern Provinces, 18 November 1945.

128 Interview with Chief Francis Enemadu, Mbutu, Mbaize, 2 January 2000.

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Interview with Christina Marizu, Nguru, Mbaise, 25 December 1999.

Interview with Chief Francis Eneremadu, Mbutu, Mbaise, 2 January 2000.


4 The ERDB replaced the Eastern Regional Production Development Board (ERPDB), which had coordinated the production and marketing of palm produce since 1949. For the operation of the ERPDB, see Nigeria Oil Palm Produce Marketing Or-


6 Ibid., 1.


17 See Martin, “Gender, Oil palm and Protest.”


19 Interview with Chief Eneremadu.


Interview with Philip S. Njoku, Nguru, Mbaise, 12 January 2000.


The Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation (ENDC) managed many commercial enterprises, such as cold stores, a soft drink factory, the Obudu cattle ranch, the state owned Progress Hotels, in addition to the government’s large agricultural projects. See Eastern Nigeria, *The E.N.D.C. in the First Decade, 1955–1964* (Enugu: ENPC), n.d.


Ibid.

For the location of different plantations, their sizes and labourers, see ibid., 219–20.

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Interview with Zebulon Ofurum, aged 68 years, Emeabiam, 28 May 2001.


Ibid.

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See, for example, T. C. Yusev, *The Economics of Farm Settlements in Israel* (New York: Express Printers Inc., 1963); and F. C. Gorman, *Social Relations in Israeli Farm Settlements* (Tel-Aviv: Zester and Rox, 1957). See also Schwartz and Hare, *Foreign Experts and Unsustainable Development*, 6.


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Ibid., 3.


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Floyd, Eastern Nigeria, 163.

Okoro, “The Uzouwani Farm Settlement,” 11.

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Floyd and Adinde, “Farm Settlements,” 193.

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For discussion on mode of production in the African context, see, for example, Bowlig Simon, Peasant Production and Market Relations: A Case Study of Western Ghana (Copenhagen: Third World Observer, 1993), 7.


Purvis, Report on a Survey, 34.


Eastern Nigeria, Annual Report, Agricultural Division, 1963–64. See Table 3, 11.

Hursh, Innovation, 213.


Ibid.

For the quantity of gari export to Northern Nigeria between 1959 and 1963, see Eastern Nigeria, Annual Report, Agricultural Division, 1963–64, Table 5, 13.

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Eastern Nigeria, Programme of Work, 59.

Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.

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Interview with Sybilia Nwosu, c. 85 years, Nguru, Mbaise, 12 December 1998.


Interview with Amarahiaugwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.

Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.

Interview with Alpelda Korie, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 23 December 1998.

Interview with Grace Chidomere, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.

Interview with Susan Iwuagwu, Umu-nomo, Mbaise, 31 July 1999.


NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928.

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PRO, FCO, 65/384, “Intelligence Memorandum,” CIA Food Crisis in Eastern Nigeria.

Ibid.


Time, 23 August, 1968.

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The Committee for Peace in Nigeria (CPN) was established because of the Nigerian Civil War (1967–70). The Committee, which acted as an independent body and was headed by Lord Fenner Brockway, was active from 1968. Members included leading political figures in Britain, representatives from the missionary societies working in Nigeria, former members of the Colonial Service in Nigeria, business representatives, and Africans from both the federal and the Biafran sides of the conflict.

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Interview with Jonah Okere, Umuekwune, Ngor Okpala, 12 December 1999.

Interview with Francis Ihuoma, aged 78, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
136 Ibid., 240.
137 Ibid., 241. See also Nigeria, Annual Abstract of Statistics 1967, 3.
138 Hursh et al., Innovation in Eastern Nigeria, 213.
139 PRO, FCO, 65/384, “Intelligence Memorandum.”
140 Ibid.
141 Ibid.
142 Interview with Iwuagwu, Chilaka, Umu-nomo, Mbaie, 31 July 1999.
143 PRO, FCO, 65/384.
145 For the activities of the BDC, see NAE, ESIALA, 63/1/70-SEC/217, vol. 1, “Emergency Food Production,” Director, Food Production Directorate to the Chairman, BDC, 5 February 1968.
146 NAE, ESIALA, 63/1/70, file no. SEC/217, vol. 1, “Emergency Food Production.”
149 PRO, FCO, 65/384, “Memorandum.”
150 Ibid.
151 Interview with Amarahiaugwu Korieh, 65 year, Mbaie, 13 December 1998.
153 Interview with Comfort Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaie, 13 December 1998.
154 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaie, 17 December 1998.
155 Interview with Nwadinma Agwu at Ishiahu, 29 October 2007, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
156 Interview with Edna Okoye, Akanagu Asumo Village Abagana, 26 June 2006, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
157 Interview with Margaret Nwanevu, Asumo Mbaie, 30 October 2007, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
158 Interview with Chinyere Iroha, Uvuuru, Mbaie, 30 October 2007, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
159 Iyegha, Agricultural Crisis, 35. See also Federal Office of Statistics, Review of External Trade (Lagos, 1979), 83.
165 The estimates of oil revenue have not been consistent from different sources. This is a problem associated with much of the official data from Nigeria. On petroleum production and revenue from 1973 to 1979, see International Financial Statistics 33, no. 12 (1980): 288. See also Myer, “This Is Not Your Land,” note 4, 136.
168 Ibid.
169 Myers, “This Is Not Your Land,” 94.
171 Berry, *No Condition*, 77.
182 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
184 There emerged absentee farmers, who hired labour to work on rented farms.
186 Ibid., 20.
188 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
189 For some treatment of the boom and bust period in Nigeria and the impact on farmers, see, for example, Michael Watts, ed., *State, Oil and Agriculture in Nigeria* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California), 19.
191 See Nigeria, *Third National Development Plan*.
192 This argument is borne out in my research and oral interviews with rural farmers. Many rural farmers consistently argued that political officials who were not farmers often controlled the sale and distribution of fertilizers.
The Land Use Decree gave the federal and state governments power to take over any land within their jurisdiction without compensation. The decree has been extensively used to alienate land in areas close to the urban centres.

See Myers, “This Is Not Your Land,” 29. In this period, there was interest in agricultural investment by foreign capital. In 1978, the federal commissioner for agriculture informed a Dutch delegation that the Land Use Decree would help the government to acquire land for foreign investors. See Watts and Lubeck, “The Popular Classes,” 123.


Ibid., 24.


See Berry, *No Condition is Permanent*, 182.

Gains were limited. For a review of irrigated rice farming schemes in five West African countries, see, for example, Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, eds., *The Root of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London, 1981), 412–13.


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5 Ibid., 7.


7 Interview with Eugenia Otuonye, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 23 December 1998.

8 Interview with Isidore Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 5 May 2008.


10 Ibid., 2–3.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., 2.

13 Ibid., 3–5.


16 For further discussion, see, for example, F. A. Olaloku, *Structure of the Nigeria Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 27.


18 Interview with Nwanyiafo Obasi, Umunomu, Mbaise.


23 Martin, *Palm Oil and Protest*.


26 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 22 December 2000.


29 NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928.


31 Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 331.

32 For quantity of gari export to northern Nigeria, see NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/875, file no. 1646, vol. IV, “Gari Control,” District Officer Aba, to the Senior Resident, Port Harcourt, 20 July 1942.


34 Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 331.


36 Ibid., 215.

37 Ibid.


40 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umucieze, Mbase, 13 December 1998.


42 Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 331.

43 Ibid.


48 Dike, Trade and Politics, 28.


51 Mss. Afr. s. 1520, Sylvia Leith-Ross papers.


54 For the early kinds of migration in response to population pressures, see John


58 Official provincial estimates per square mile recorded by Forde and Jones were as follows: Onitsha (1921) 306, (1931) 224; Owerri (1921) 268, (1931) 154. It is obvious that these official figures are unreliable. The population dynamics would suggest that the population density for 1931 would have been relatively higher than the density for 1921. Despite this negative growth, which cannot be explained, contemporary estimates suggest that most of the Igbo territory experienced very high densities. See Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of Southeastern Nigeria* (London: International African Institute, 1950), 10–13.


67 See Goldman, “Population Growth.”


72 See, for example, Eicher and Liedholm, *Growth and Development*, 78.


75 Jones, *From Slaves to Palm Oil*, 104.

76 RH, Mss Afr s 1520, Sylvia Leith-Ross papers.


78 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 12 December 1999.


82 The region was a former German colony until World War I. On 4 February 1916, the English and the French shared the
Cameroon territory that they had just forcefully gained from the Germans.

83 Interview with Linus Anabalam, 12 December 1999.

84 NAE, CADIST, 3/3/840, Denis Ugwu and others to the Senior District Officer, Calabar, 4 June 1949.

85 NAE, CADIST, 3/3/686, I. Uchendu and others to District Officer, Calabar, 17 February 1949.


87 Ibid.

88 Van Den Barsselaar, “Imagining Home,” 58. See also Ofohata, Nigeria in Maps, 64–66.


90 On the labour migration to Fernando Po, see, for example, PRO, CO 554/127/5, “Labour for Fernando Po.”

91 See Nigeria, Annual Report of the Department of Labor for the Year 1944.


95 Loise, interviewed by Anthony Ohams, 30 December 2005.

96 Interview with Alban Onyesoh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 18 December 1998.

97 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 17 December 1998.

98 Interview with Alban Eluwa, Umuchieze, Mbase, 18 December 1998.

99 The expression ‘dry’ means lack of resources. Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Mbase, 17 December 1998.


104 Jones, From Slaves to Palm Oil, 107.


106 Interview with Jane Elizabeth Obasi, Umunomo, Mbase, 30 July 1999.


110 Interview with Jonas Onwukwe, aged c. 70, Umunkwo-Emeabiam, May 2001.

111 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 17 December 1998.

112 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbase, 13 December 1998.

113 Interview with Eugenia Otuonye, Umuchieze, Mbase, 23 December 1998.
CONCLUSION


2 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/872.

3 Ibid.

4 NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/958.